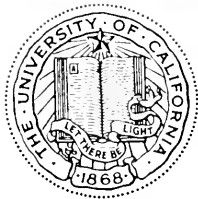


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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
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**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES IN
CENTRAL AMERICA**

BY

J. M. MONCADA

EX-MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, NICARAGUA



TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH

BY

ALOYSIUS C. GAHAN

OF THE NEW YORK BAR

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I dedicate this work to the people of the United States. In writing it I have sought inspiration in the principles of Washington, in the ideals of all the founders of American Independence, and in the broad spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. There certainly never was a period fitter to serve as an example and guide to mankind than that time when so many worthy and eminent men assisted at the birth of this great republic.

Let us always remember their teachings, and work incessantly to link the all-powerful forces of civilization to the exalted virtues of Washington, so that for all time he may be hailed as "the Father of his country."

J. M. MONCADA.

NEW YORK, August, 1911.

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

I.

Some opposition exists, chiefly on the part of adherents of the democratic party in the United States, to the policy of intervention by the government at Washington, in the internal affairs of Central America.

In like manner, the so-called liberal party in the Central American republics, rejects interference by the United States, denouncing as traitors those who, either secretly or openly, are favorable thereto. The liberals regard with distrust the protestations of the White House, and have no faith in the declarations of Root and other statesmen as to the benevolent intentions of the United States. Those declarations are said to be but cloaks to cover cunning on the part of the would-be conqueror, and made for the purpose of lulling the intended victim to sleep.

II.

Which view is the correct one and who are the patriots?

Is the resistance of the democratic party in the United States, just and civilizing; and, reciprocally, is the attitude of the liberal party in the republics of Central America, likewise just and civilizing?

Are the declarations of the government at Washington sincere?

Are the people of the United States really brothers of those of Central and South America, as stated in documents and official utterances emanating from the White House?

Where can we find the happy medium to effect the union of these conflicting currents?

What is the duty of both sides, whether republicans or democrats in the United States, and whether liberals or conservatives in Central America?

What is the apparent trend of evolution in the present age and what is the rôle of the United States?

III.

In order to answer these questions correctly, a great deal of good faith and calm impartiality are required. Passion must be laid aside and the mind elevated to lofty ideals for humanity in its present stage of development. The history of mankind can shed light throughout the labyrinth and sociology afford a safe guide.

Which view is the correct one and who are the patriots?

I am inclined to believe that patriotism actuates the democratic party in the United States; and I also concede to the liberals of Central America a like generous sentiment.

But the meaning of the word "fatherland" has for some time been undergoing change; like all things human it is subject to mutation. Indeed, it tends to disappear.

There are many philosophers and thinkers who find the fatherland everywhere, and who would rejoice to see the word patriotism synonymous with humanity. In pursuance of this philosophy, one might be guilty of the anachronism of reasoning and judging in conformity with the ideas and social spirit of antiquity which were, undoubtedly, quite different from the ideas and social sentiment of the present epoch.

The soul of the nations, precarious and bounded in its horizon by the limits of the land in past ages, undergoes continual transformation, developing and widening as frontiers are gained and overleaped; in which process prejudices are eradicated and national and racial differences destroyed. It is slowly progressing towards a universal objective; varying ideals are being transmuted and fused into one grand conception, a supereminently human ideal, namely, the universal brotherhood of man.

The old patriotism, narrow and egotistic, had its roots deeply implanted within the confines of the state. It mapped out frontiers whose lines were impassible. The *patria* for which the Greeks and Romans fought is not similar to the patriotic sentiment entertained to-day, at least by the enlightened portion of the human race, and this is the portion which, in the long run, leads and directs the states.

It was Rome which first set the noble example of carrying beyond the frontiers and enlarging the idea of the fatherland, so that it embraced the conquered nations. Thus the idea of justice was extended, the foreigner being granted rights of citizenship while his gods were transported to the Roman Pantheon. In this way

Rome attained proportions surpassing in grandeur all the nations of antiquity.

The origin, development and apogee of Rome greatly resemble the origin, development and apogee of the United States. The colony on the Tiber began like the colony at Plymouth Rock. When the Roman republic was transforming itself into an empire, Julius Ceasar was assassinated. So, too, in the United States, was McKinley. Rome decayed and perished through its system of centralized empire; and the United States of America should always bear in mind this great example of history.

IV.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that in the present state of the world, frontiers are artificial. people of various nationalities mingle and commingle with one another, and certain nations have an influence upon certain others. Everything in the land travels to-day, thought, speech, being and things; so that a policy of non-interference has become impossible. The illness of a nation affects its neighbors within a few hours. The pulse of the United States, for example, is felt instantly in France, England or Germany. The idea, the spark that springs into existence here, illuminates the Old World, and the spirit of the latter has, in its turn, an influence upon the mind and heart of the New.

Human society is an organism, similar in character to the individual body. It has arteries, veins, lungs, members, vessels and cells. If we touch any part of the body, the brain instantly feels the effect; and in the same

way, human society, as an organism, feels all impressions or changes taking place among the individual members of the human family.

A world-soul, a composite of all souls and minds and consciences, is in process of formation. It is the great, supreme result of discoveries and of increased facilities for communication. This process of evolution had its birth in the discovery of America, and has developed with great energy, particularly in the newly discovered land of North America, itself, because the United States has been the greatest contributor to this wonderful human fellowship.

When the genius of Fulton applied steam to navigation, and Franklin, with his own hands, caught the thunderbolts of Jupiter, then it was that the arteries, nerves, vessels and cells of the organism of humanity were created. The United States, therefore, are entitled to leadership in the domain of modern progress. It is their mission, and no one can dispute it. May they inspire us with courage by illuminating the path that leads to the grand goal of universal brotherhood!

The locomotive also extended and widened the social current. Men, things, ideas, books, all found means of rapid transportation. Altho the English were the first to stretch the rails upon the surface of the earth, the United States applied them upon a vast scale. While the English were doubting and vacillating, and even cursing the invention, the Americans devoted themselves to perfecting it and opening large railways. Within a few years in the United States mountains were cleft and entire forests cut through to give passage to the locomo-

tive. This is the origin of the prosperity of the United States. It was an American, also, who first communicated thought by means of the telegraph; and another American whose invention enables us to send speech through the telephone. These two great men opened the way to human society for spiritual communication. The formation of the world-soul was thus begun.

These constitute the true sources of modern progress, and can be referred to as the evident cause of the more intimate intercourse of the nations of the earth with one another. Wireless telegraphy is also adding strength to the bonds of brotherhood, and aerial navigation will give a happy finish to the work.

What thus redounds to the honor of the United States, reflects honor, likewise, upon the new world, and when racial and national differences are completely obliterated the honor shall belong to the entire world.

These being quite evident truths, we may answer the first question by saying that the democrats of the United States, and the liberals of Central America, are working contrary to civilization and are seeking the impossible.

Both democrats and liberals have become conservatives without knowing it. In advocating the policy of non-interference, they are spreading a selfish, unpatriotic and inhuman sentiment. I think, nevertheless, that they are sincere, and I trust that sooner or later they will acknowledge their error and contribute with all their energies to the promotion of general harmony.

V.

I propose to consider in this section, the second question: Are the declarations of the government at Washington sincere? Is its aim conquest, the seizure of lands by cunning or by force?

Was the speech of Root in South America a loyal and reliable promise on the part of the United States Government? Will the successors of Secretary Root keep the pledge given by him?

At the outset, it must be stated that politicians can promise nothing, unless they possess absolute knowledge of the laws of evolution and proceed in accordance with those laws. Social forces may within a decade deride the promises of men, unless those promises were uttered at a time when the eye was watchful and the judgment calm. It is for this reason that revolutionary programmes, and revolutions themselves, often fail, the people not being prepared for the change.

Nevertheless, the form of evolution visible in the United States of America, stamps the words of Root with the impress of truth, and through the operation and development of present forces and currents, Root's successors will find themselves obliged to uphold his doctrine, somewhat in the same way as the Monroe doctrine had to be maintained.

For, if the declarations of the American Government be insincere, its political plan must necessarily involve the conversion of the United States into a centralized empire similar to that of Rome. The building of the Panama Canal would mean the laying down of the

southern frontier of the great empire, while the fondling of Canada, as exhibited at present, would be the seeking of the pole for the northern limit.

But may not the Government at Washington hope, on the other hand, to unite all of the nationalities, from the pole to the canal, in the same manner as that in which the different states of the American Union are now existing and prospering in a marvellous degree?

Which of these two paths is the American Government ostensibly following?

We reply that the second course is, undoubtedly, the chosen path, adopted as a matter of necessity and through the inexorable law of evolution. The facts are in manifest accord with the grand law.

The independence of Cuba and the obligation imposed upon the new republic of maintaining a succession of lawful and pacific governments; the exalting of Porto Rico, and the liberty which it now enjoys similar in all respects to that of the United States; the progress of Santo Domingo, and the good faith with which the government at Washington rescued it from its late economic crisis; the work at Panama, so palpable and eloquent; and the improvements in the Philippine Islands, are, all of them, the very suggestive facts.

Many persons of Latin America arrive at different conclusions from these facts. According to some, Cuba is certain to continue its existence as a Spanish-speaking country. It would have been able, they say, to secure its independence through its own efforts, although it is now destroying itself by civil strife, like the republics of Central America, Spain never having known how to educate

her colonies for self-government. Others maintain that it would be better if Panama were in the hands of Colombia, and that the Canal will cause serious damage to Spanish America.

But such ideas are not sound. The world required the canal, and when Colombia refused to make any treaty with the United States, passions were running high in Colombia and led her to do wrong. The belt of land, whether purchased or presented, was a necessity for communication between the two oceans. The progress of the world could not brook prejudice through the folly of a people to whom the high destiny of humanity and the enterprise required by the nations for their material and spiritual existence were incomprehensible.

This civilization, clamorous, bewildering, and productive of change in all things, is inherent in our very selves, and grows with the land in which we had our birth. To civilization we are indebted for all that we are, and it is the criterion of high spirits and great minds.

Cuba lost nothing by accepting the generous hand which the American people extended to her in the hour of her birth into republican life. All beings and all nations must pass through a period of infancy during which they need wise, prudent and energetic direction. It is true that they might, of their own vitality, reach the stage of maturity, but this could be accomplished only by passing through a long period of sanguinary strife, as was the case with France, England, Italy, and as is now happening to the unfortunate states of Central America. Nations to-day powerful, such as England, France, Germany and others, cannot throw the first stone at Central Amer-

ica; and if the people of the United States would but remember the sorrows of Washington, and the supplications of Franklin in Congress, they would be just towards their brethren of Central America in their uncertain steps on the difficult road of republicanism and liberty.

Latin publicists say that the race is dying out; that the mother tongue is disappearing; that the Saxon is triumphant, and that the dominion of the world belongs to him. Let come what must! The empires of Augustus and of Constantine the Great are mouldering in the dust. All things change; but all the elements of past ages, spiritual and material, are living to-day in the modern organism, and existing civilization is the result and sum of the civilizations of the past. Our spirits are illumined by rays that had their birth in Greece and Egypt, and at the remoter hearth of the Aryan people from whom we sprang.

Who can arrest the progress of events or halt the motion of things? The very sun is not stationary in the centre of the solar system, but carries us travelling along with it towards the Constellation of Hercules. In this manner we are travelling towards the sun of humanity, which shall ultimately shine in resplendent beauty at the end of the centuries. Let us learn to love the future as we do the past, thus inducing a condition of harmony.

VI.

Whither, then, is the American Government tending? When we consider the federal form of government and contemplate the visible forces of evolution in the United States, we are compelled to the conclusion that it is on

the road leading to the federalization of all of North America; and that this great object is the guiding star by which we are led, whether or not we are conscious of the fact.

What could be more beautiful? Could the soul of man entertain the smallest feeling of dislike towards this marvellous *desideratum*?

The great Republic was established upon a federal basis. The different states are independent as far as is necessary, and it is upon this fact that the stability of the nation rests. Just as soon as it is sought to establish a centralized government, the decadence of the nation will begin, and the United States will fall as Rome fell.

The reason is scientific: the law of the matter is now accepted as mathematical. The great human aspiration is welfare, and mankind is happier and freer according as power is decentralized, while individual liberty is, relatively, maintained. We all wish to enjoy the quantity of air and sunlight necessary to life, and we like to be paid the price of our labor. These vital conditions are admirably adjusted in the United States.

Decentralization is a problem which is regulated by a supreme law, governing like the law of gravitation. This supreme law adapts itself singularly to the government of states. The celestial mechanic lent His laws to the social mechanic. Our planetary system presents us, indeed, with a very striking example, bringing to mind immediately the federal system of government.

After cataclysms attended by chaos, the planets were organized into a sort of federation, which they maintain in a state of perpetual equilibrium, in singular harmony,

each retaining its relative independence while revolving around the sun, the centre of the system. This *magna charta*, this law of universal gravitation, is not an absolute sovereignty. If it were, the equilibrium would be at once destroyed, and the stars would fall upon one another, like the nations of the earth when one of them seeks to enslave its fellow.

Absolutism in government has not proved durable upon this earth, and never will. Every territorial conquest requires a new and additional force in the central power, and these forces uniting and increasing, cause the gradual degeneration of the government into a tyranny which the citizens cannot endure, and discontent and rebellion supervene. The Russian empire is again giving to the world this grand, severe lesson.

The pressure increasing, and the welfare of the community daily losing ground, individuals begin to pull upon the chain, and sooner or later the chain snaps.

I assume that the United States desires to perpetuate itself as a nation, and that its statesmen will be mindful to conserve the federation.

I, therefore, answer the second question by saying that Root spoke the truth and that the United States cannot desire territorial conquest. It surely cannot wish to contract a mortal illness and pass on to death, like other empires which have sunk below the historical horizon.

In the United States the federal government is the centre of the system. The different states revolve, so to speak, around the American sun, each state retaining its independence, character and individual laws.

I do not know whether American statesmen appreciate these truths and whether they proceed in accordance with them. The laws of evolution, however, being inexorable, it matters little whether they do or not. No one can prevent the operation of these laws, and the political party that attempts to do so is working against humanity and civilization.

VII.

From another point of view, it may be stated, in the light of human history, that the policy of non-intervention was always an impossibility in this world. All the nations of Europe, before the middle ages, throughout the course of those uncultured centuries, and after the renaissance, lived in a state of constant warfare, sometimes for the purpose of involving one nation in the destiny of another, sometimes with the object of carrying beliefs or idolatries to distant lands, or, again, to sustain this or that prince on the throne of his forefathers, or, perhaps, a usurper on the throne of another.

It is needless to turn over the pages of the history of France, England, Spain or Germany. It is enough to recall the intervention of the Powers for the independence of Greece and the intervention of the United States to secure the independence of Cuba. The facts, therefore, are written upon the universal conscience.

The temperament of mankind, as well as that of nations, cannot contain itself within bounds of neutrality and indifference. And if this element of human nature could not restrain itself when correspondence required months and sometimes years to reach its destination, at a

time when books were few, and there was no telegraph, or steamships or railways, much less can it contain itself in this age when the great and manifold sensitiveness of society is a complete organism, endowed with nerves, arteries, heart and brain, that is to say, with a conscious soul. England moves against the Transvaal; Russia against Turkey or Japan; even Nicaragua, seemingly so isolated from the rest of the world, suffers convulsions, and every civilized country palpitates simultaneously desiring the triumph of either one side or the other, or seeking the intervention of the Powers to arrest the incidental slaughter. The pains, pleasures and desires of humanity, are expressed through vibrating or spiritual movements traveling unimpeded from one end of the land to the other. Who in the world was not interested in the liberty of Dreyfus?

In the days of Washington or of Lincoln, for example, although Cuba might have agitated to secure its independence, the American government would never have interfered in its war against Spain, because the different states of the Union would not have desired such action. Nevertheless, the truly prophetic doctrine of Monroe had taken root in the national soul of the United States. This doctrine was cherished, as are all great principles of government, because it was the expression of the sentiment and aspiration, at first latent, but subsequently tangible, of the people of the United States, based upon the imperious necessity of protecting the New World from conquest by Europe.

How we have grieved and suffered, because the states of the north were compelled to meet in bloody conflict

their kindred of the south, and because Mexico and Central America have been passing on from one Calvary to another. No matter! It is the inevitable law of humanity, which was not born wise, to learn by cruel experience, falling first upon its knees in order to rise again and lift its brow toward heaven. For this reason it is that those who censure the fall of the people of Central America and call them ungovernable, display but narrowness of soul and crass ignorance. Far better were it to extend a fraternal hand to those republics which are struggling to establish stable government, in the same way as England struggled in the olden days of conflict between the houses of York and Lancaster, reaching finally a stage of wisdom and prudence satisfactory to itself, or as France, Italy and Germany struggled with a similar object in view.

Judging from the facts, the policy of the United States with respect to Central America, seems to be fraternal. The United States have at least treated us in a more generous spirit than that displayed by our sister, Mexico.

But the Government of the United States sometimes makes mistakes in the manner of its procedure with reference to Central America. For instance, in the year 1906, it could by its mere wish have prevented the unjustifiable war which Zelaya brought against Honduras. In the majority of cases, an unequivocal declaration from the White House would suffice to prevent cruel and fruitless bloodshed. The American Government could declare that it wants peace in Central America, and that in order to have peace there, it would employ such means as civilization might suggest, even force if necessary.

It could also refuse to recognize any government resulting from military *coups* or from elections attended by manifest violence. Simple denial of recognition would in these cases be sufficient, because our governments by reason of their weakness, need a strong protecting hand to assist them in their entrance into the concert of civilized governments.

It is not because they are incapable of governing themselves that the republics of Central America stand in need of such declarations, for they are no exception to other nations in the history of mankind, but because modern improvements and means of prosperity have so multiplied in the United States, that the advantages of the latter in comparison with those of Central America are as a hundred to one. The United States travel by steam and electricity, while the republics of Central America travel in an old cart drawn by weary oxen. Hence, the enormous disproportion, and the dissatisfaction arising from the fact that the people of the United States do not stop to consider the injustice of requiring from our people what they are unable to give.

I, therefore, assert, for I am thoroughly penetrated with the belief, that what we need most is economic aid, coupled with that which would be derived from practical schools. Assistance of this character would carry with it an unobtrusive, but yet very effective political influence.

It is a fact, however, that loans by American capitalists, without the guarantee of the American Government, is not the best form in which this economic aid could be rendered.

The sad example of the trusts established in the United States show that capitalists are heartless, even where the welfare of their own countrymen is concerned. Once in their clutches, Central America would become, sooner or later, what Costa Rica is now on account of its concessions to the United Fruit Company, but as already stated economic aid, rendered in a desirable manner, is the most effective way to secure peace in Nicaragua and, little by little, in all of Central America.

Nicaragua wishes and has need of a loan of \$15,000,000, under the protection of the American Government. It would use \$5,000,000 in the payment of the English debt and \$10,000,000 in the founding of a national bank, to be established in Managua, with a capital of \$40,000,000 of paper money, the ten millions in gold being deposited in the treasury of the bank. The United States lenders should have a representative in the board of directors at Managua, and the American Government another representative on the same board. The revenues of Nicaragua should be collected by this bank, which would also disburse the national expenditures, and a sufficient balance would remain to be devoted to several works of progress, such as the Rama Railway, the Matagalpa Railway, and the opening of the large Atlantic rivers. Let these railways be national, and let neither the United Fruit, or any other trust from the north, come to assist us to build them and kill Nicaraguan industry.

I believe that the American government on account of the morality and prosperity of its people, which ought to be the first concern of every government, would be more willing to patronize this method of affording protection to

Nicaragua, than that of introducing corporations, since in the United States themselves the government is now endeavoring to cure the body politic of the terrible trust-cancer from which it is now suffering and by reason of which the United States are presenting, indisputably, the greatest symptom of decadence which this great nation has as yet exhibited to the world.

As I have hereinbefore suggested, the United States may desire the conquest of Nicaragua, or it may desire the formation of a republic that shall ultimately form part of the American Union. In either case, protection initiated by the present government of the United States is desirable, in order that in the future no new struggles may supervene against capital. The railways also should be national works, so that the people may not incur the danger of paying tribute to the extortions of capital for the transportation of merchandise.

The government of the United States being, then, an honorable, civilizing and powerful government, the course it has assumed with respect to its economic influence in Central America confirms its character. This generous and civilizing influence can only be spurned by those in Nicaragua, or other Central American countries, who rely only upon militarism to obtain power, and upon the national treasuries to enrich themselves.

VIII.

As already stated, the American Government has not always done the best thing in the matter of intervention in the policies and government of Central America.

At the time of the unjustifiable war which Zelaya

forced upon Honduras, the United States could have prevented it; and after the outrage of the Momotombo against Acajutla, the United States was obliged, with the consent of the other Central American governments, to demand the retirement of Zelaya, as his government was harmful to civilization and to the interests of the United States as well as those of Central America. The American Government, however, accepting the idea of the Washington conventions, favored and really saved Zelaya, who for three years longer exploited the poor Nicaraguan people. The civil war that began at Bluefields in October, 1909, was necessary to drive him from power. The Washington government then corrected its mistake by morally favoring the revolution, making the notable declarations of the Knox note, and by not recognizing the government of Madriz, which would have been but an extension of the Zelaya régime.

In like manner the pressure brought against Zelaya on account of the Emery claim was quite justifiable. The grounds of this claim are not generally known. The Emery establishment was bound by contract not to sell, assign or lend to any person or company any merchandise which the Government permitted the Emery Company to import free of duty for the maintenance of the Company, under a penalty, for violation, of double the value of the sale. One day José Dolores Gamez, taking advantage of his influence, obtained from Emery \$11,000 worth of food supplies and other material which he and Zelaya required for the purpose of making a survey of lands on the Atlantic Coast. This was followed by other demands for cash, until the Emery Company, which was

not promptly paid, refused to supply the wants of the Nicaraguan dictator and of his favorite. Then Zelaya caused the appointment of an Arbitration board, in accordance with the penal stipulation of the contract, claiming from Emery double the value of the goods furnished. Gamez sent his nephew to Bluefields as attorney for the Nicaraguan government, compensating him, as was customary in those days, with a liquor concession which was sold for \$9,000 gold.

This method of making payments with State property could hardly be more scandalous, especially in view of the fact that the very parties who benefited by the transactions with the house of Emery were plaintiffs against the Company. The arbitrators decided against Emery, and the fine was immediately paid. But the attorney for the Government demanded more, that is to say, he claimed the forfeiture of the contract. Emery presented documents proving payment to Zelaya, on account of the concession, for three years in advance, and the board of arbitration declared that nothing further could be done pending those three years. At the expiration of this period the government of Zelaya moved against Emery, and without any previous legal proceedings or any new arbitration, took possession of everything.

Such was the origin of the claim which has cost the people of Nicaragua \$600,000 gold, because it is the nation which pays in the end, not Zelaya, who is enjoying its money in Belgium, not Gamez, who is spending it in San Salvador, nor Gamez's nephew, who is even now a diplomatic employee of the Government of Nicaragua,

nor yet the Nicaraguan lawyer who after the lapse of the three years demanded the forfeiture of the contract, who is now a judge in the supreme court of Managua, and who received \$10,000 silver in payment for those services which were so ruinous to the country.

There is no doubt that these crimes should be punished. The Emery claim was just and the \$600,000 gold should be paid. The debtor, however, is certainly not the nation, but rather its unworthy employees. Unfortunately, Nicaragua has neither public opinion, law or justice. When I was a Representative in the first Assembly at Managua, I introduced a bill for the prosecution of Zelaya and his accomplices; but all of the interests created by the government of the Dictator, now represented by several of his friends, strongly opposed any action of this character.

And it is now the fact that the former courtiers of Zelaya, skilful in intrigue and adept at bargains, are excluding patriots from the government and even expelling them from the country, and are again grasping the national treasury. The Zelaya régime has brought the country to such a serious condition of illness that it seems impossible to find a remedy. If the United States Government would intervene to free us from such scandalous depredations and establish a government of justice and morality, thus dignifying law and truth, its intervention would be a thousand times blessed; but to sustain tyrants and military ignoramuses, as has been done occasionally, undoubtedly through error, no, no, a thousand times no.

For this reason it is of the utmost necessity to bring the facts to the knowledge of the people of the United States, and to inform them of the true social and political conditions of Nicaragua.

These truths show that the evil lies in the venality of the politicians of Central America, not in the patience of the people in supporting them, for it cannot be denied that during the seventeen years of Zelaya's government the people were continually in arms against it, and that in order to overthrow Zelaya some memorable actions were performed by the revolution of Bluefields.

Of course it is at once manifest that if the United States would assist us to open banks, railways and schools, improvement would be rapid, and the people of Central America and of the United States would benefit thereby, as they would have good, large markets for their industry.

What is most urgently needed in Central America is to prepare men for the work of government. Unfortunately such men do not exist there. Many of those who claim power by reason of having participated in the battles of Tisma or Acoyapa, are unable to read or write, and if they were examined like school children they would not be able to answer anything about geography or mathematics, and much less about political or social science which is so necessary in managing men and countries. Almost all of our military men are familiar with but one way to settle difficulties; the one adopted in Asia by Alexander when he severed the Gordian Knot with his sword.

Speaking generally, an aversion to truth is another singular characteristic of Latin society. Let the Saxon, then, teach us to keep the plighted word, by example and education. This teaching will not be understood by the older generations, but will be absorbed by the children, and it is these that represent the future.

Institutions like the Court of Carthage, or the International Office of Guatemala, will not lead to good government in Central America, because in the present state of Central America it would be very difficult to find five judges capable of setting aside their local prejudices and rivalries. Facts have proved this assertion.

Furthermore, private, political or national interests confuse the judgment of man. Judges in Central America would be able in but very few cases to decide justly in matters involving Central America. This could not be said of a court established in Washington, composed of American citizens of high reputation, chosen for each case, organized as a permanent body. I believe that the majority of Nicaraguans would submit with much more grace to a judgment rendered by a United States judge than to one rendered by a judge of their own country.

Among the Washington conventions there is one which, in my judgment, is worth them all; that is the agreement for a Central American Pedagogic Institute. This measure, which is worthy of all praise and ought to have been immediately carried out, has never been acted upon. The first stone has not been cut for the building. If the amount expended for the Court of Carthage, the International Office, and the maintenance of

ministers in the capitals of Central America, had been devoted to the creation of the Pedagogic Institution, Central America would already enjoy the prospect of true civilization, provided the American Government would but furnish teachers, tools and materials for teaching.

In the discussions of the Central American congress held at Washington, statesmen of the United States allowed themselves to be misled by the words of Central American politicians, and did not exhibit that practical spirit for which their race is distinguished.

When it is desired, in the United States, to direct the people into a certain path, resort is had to the schools. Why is not the same thing done in Central America? The agreements were signed in 1907. The year 1908 could have been devoted to the building of the Institute; it would now be in operation, and a hundred pupils from each Central American republic, all educated upon like principles and upon the basis of a common ideal, would be in training to contribute to the development and progress of our people. These agreements have brought to us but one more disappointment and failure; and to render this all the more poignant, the very persons who signed the agreements are now working against American influences in Nicaragua and Honduras. There is no necessity for mentioning names.

IX.

Aside from all these arguments, which are manifestly based upon sociology and the inevitable and peremptory laws of human civilization, another reasonable ground exists for intervention by the United States in the politics of Central America and in its republican life.

The obligations and duties which one nation contracts always draw after them reciprocal duties.

The Monroe Doctrine, now universally recognized as a principle of the United States Government, has imposed upon this nation a multitude of obligations which continually occasion it difficulties and dangers. The republics of Central America have derived, and still derive, great benefit from this doctrine. Their independence, like the independence of Mexico, could not have been maintained without the powerful help of the United States. Our national life, however precarious or anarchical it may have been, would have been very quickly snuffed out if the United States had left us exposed to our own solitary efforts to maintain existence.

Spain, even in its fallen state, England, France or Germany, would have conquered us, if those wise and prophetic words of Monroe, inspired by the sincere and profound sentiment of a great nation, had not been elevated to the category of a fundamental law of the New World.

Nicaragua was the first to benefit by this doctrine. The reincorporation of the Mosquito Land was arranged and accomplished through negotiations with England, carried on by the great Republic; and, even now, under the Government which resulted from the Revolution of Bluefields, the economic liberty of the Republic is sought to be achieved through the instrumentality of the Mixed Commission, a work which imposes new duties upon the United States, and which must, undoubtedly, produce new rights under the law of compensation.

Zelaya had involved the country to an astounding degree with contractors and companies, English, French, German, Italian and United States. The first act of justice performed by the Government at Washington, in this respect, was the grading of all of these contracts, both European and North American. It refused to favor its own citizens in any unjust claims, an action which undoubtedly speaks very highly in favor of the sincerity of its policy.

Among those contracts, so ruinous to Nicaragua, is that of the lease of the national railways and steamships, made by the Zelaya government to Mr. Julio Weist, a German subject, whose principal partner was Zelaya himself. Zelaya's son-in-law, Joaquin Pasos, held all of the bonds of this company and exercised control of it on behalf of his father-in-law. Neither Zelaya nor Weist expended any of their own personal funds in the enterprise. The entire business consisted in the grabbing of national property for the purpose of dividing the profits.

As the present government of Nicaragua annulled these contracts, so that the question of their legality might be submitted to the Mixed Commission, the German Government wanted to institute a claim on behalf of its subject. Some nations do not inquire into the justice or injustice of claims, but simply look to the quality of the claimant. If the government of Nicaragua was not protected by the American Government, German warships would already be at Corinto, and Nicaragua would be compelled to "stand and deliver," as the phrase goes in modern international law. We were saved by the United

States. Have we the right to deny to the United States the right of intervention in our internal affairs? By no means.

But we have the right, the supremely human right, based upon civilization, to ask, nay, even to demand, that the Nicaraguan Government shall be a government of legality and order, and that in no case shall the United States support tyranny. It is to be hoped that the spirit of the Knox note may be raised to the dignity of a principle of government, like the Monroe Doctrine, and that it may be proclaimed frankly in the face of the entire world. There are no reasons for concealing this tendency of American politics, as no power can object to the reign of order and liberty. This current is so powerful and displays so much energy that even should a democrat be elected President of the United States, the stream would have to run its course through its own momentum and by reason of the demands of civilization.

It would be, indeed, a very grand and beautiful thing for us, Central Americans, to be able to regulate our own destiny through our own strength alone. I have entertained the illusion that after reverses and disappointments, we might arrive, like other nations, at the goal of stable national government; but, unfortunately, civilization cannot wait, and the whole world is in agitation, seeking land, air and sun. The Old World is full; the United States are filling; mankind scatters itself, like a seed, upon the surface of the planet through the operation of the inevitable and omnipotent law of life. Who can control the sea? Every day, therefore, good

government in Central America is more and more urgent, so that immigrants may have proper guarantees for life and property, and so that the United States may not be continually obliged to intervene, and even to defend the territory of Central America, by reason of the duties springing from the Monroe Doctrine.

The American Government, however, should not permit itself to become possessed of the fatuous desire to correct the older generations of Central America. The grave alone can cure them. It were a herculean task, and the world is done with legends.

The future is at school and with the infant generation. As far as true government is concerned, we are merely at the opening of the path leading to honorable economic administration, not exploitation; the path of frank and energetic suggestion, and the ignoring of all governments resulting from military insolence or fraudulent elections subversive of the rights of the people. Then will come the time when the suffrage shall not be exercised by soldiers, but by citizens conscious of their duties.

The United States are already responsible, in the eyes of the world, for things and events in Central America. The Monroe Doctrine, linked with the Knox note, has placed the great Republic in this situation; and in order to comply with its duty there is no middle term: the only course is intervention, not more or less hesitating, but open and determined, based upon high ideals of justice and humanity, and always directed towards the grand object of North American federation.

While the new generations are receiving education, the United States could assist and direct Central America along the lines and in the practices advocated by the genius of Washington, the greatest of North Americans; that is to say, in the selection of men. The Father of his Country always sought out the most honorable men.

The law of selection is the law of indefinite perfection in the physical as well as in the moral world. According to Darwin, the animals even obey it; and sociology shows that in the domain of government the moral world rests upon the material. The laws of universal creation and of organized beings are the very laws that govern society.

X.

What is the duty of all parties, Republicans and Democrats in the United States, as well as of the Liberals and Conservatives in Central America?

What is the highest duty of the Government at Washington, and, in turn, of the governments of Central America?

I understand, and it is a teaching of science, that the highest duty of men, parties, governments and nations, is that of aiming at perfection, to wish for it and to love it with persevering will. All beings and things tend toward creation and perfection, and the social creation cannot endure unless founded upon morality. The Roman Empire, like other ancient nations, disappeared worm-eaten by its own vices and excessive wealth, and not so much on account of invasion by the barbarians. No law of conduct better expresses justice and equality than the

sublime maxim attributed to our Saviour: *Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.* The people of the United States and their lawful representative, the Government, are therefore under the imperative obligation to do in Nicaragua as they would have others do unto them. If, in this country, justice is administered, wise laws exist and schools are fostered to bring up youth in such a state of vigor that it can live of its own initiative, it is but just to desire and to ask that Nicaragua and the rest of Central America should be blessed with similar conditions of life and prosperity. Were it so, the Spanish race would lose all cause for distrust.

In the United States the law is paramount; the just man finds honor, the sentiments of the great Washington are embodied in the hearts of the citizens; property and life are respected, while individual liberty is assured to the extent necessary for the welfare of all. Let us, then, desire for ourselves a similar measure of progress, and that the United States might assist us, willingly and in good faith, as it is now doing, for neither President Taft nor Secretary Knox has done any act prejudicial to our country. Let us wish that violence might find no place among our people; that ignorance and vice might not seize the public offices and that relations between the United States and Central America might rest upon the mutual foundation of progress and liberty.

It may be thought that these aspirations are, at least to a large extent, utopian.

Selfishness, the most powerful of human incentives, always appears in opposition to the realization of such wishes in the ideal way; and it is precisely for this reason

that the government should be in the hands of the best element, proper selection having been made from among those best fitted for the work. This was the practice of the first president of this great country.

Selection was Washington's advice; and it was also that of Franklin. It is necessary to select men, to select all the time, and to teach the people the difficult task of making wise selection. There is no better way in which this teaching can be accomplished than by educating the young generations in a profound love for truth and justice, so that they may practice these virtues during their entire lives as the most agreeable and sacred of their social duties.

The contrary practice is exactly the greatest evil from which Spanish America is suffering, that is to say proneness to falsehood and conventional hypocrisy. The true and just man among us is destined to martyrdom, because he is not understood, and because he is hated by individuals and by the multitude. These vices are inculcated in the home and in the schools where children are brought up in fear of denouncing vice and with an aversion to work, especially to the cultivation of the soil.

To correct our social defects it is necessary that education be imparted by English or United States teachers, as truth is their pre-eminent virtue. Teachers to succeed them could be formed from the present and the coming Central American generations, by means of education in a large pedagogic institute supported by the United States, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. There could be five hundred pupils from

each country, all of them beginning under eight years of age, so that they would enter the establishment uncontaminated by any fixed vices. Some place in the United States should be selected for this institution, because the environment would educate better than all else. The future teachers of Central America would be reared in the midst of fields cultivated with United States implements and machinery, in building bridges and aqueducts, railways and automobiles, learning to select cattle and seeds, and studying English and Spanish, which are destined to fraternize in the new world.

From this Institute would come, later, the professors for the other six establishments to be thereafter founded, one for each of the Central American States, in their respective capitals or elsewhere, conducted upon the same plan and having the same ideals and tendencies, and furnished with machinery and tools from the United States of America. This would be the very best propaganda for the commerce and industry of this country.

And, like the school of Pestalozzi in Germany, the seed would go on germinating from the Canal to Canada, extending with astonishing fecundity to the horizons of Central and North America, filling up the corners and teaching the latest improvements. Within a quarter of a century, revolution and tyranny would be a thing of the past in Central America.

At the same time, above all things open the Pan-American or Pan-North American railway, financed by the United States like the Panama Canal, for the establishment of colonies along its line in the fecund hills and

sheltered vales of Central America where the farmer's hand is so sadly needed.

This would be a method of conquest and expansion never dreamt of in past ages. Could anything grander and at the same time more practical be desired? Would this be a Utopia?

From the various important points on that great railway, branches built by each Central American republic would run, thus extending the system and increasing the commercial, industrial and political relations of these countries. The United States would own the spinal column of such an organism, while the Central American countries would possess the other members, arteries and veins. The day would not be far distant when the pulsations and sentiments of the new organism would create the soul of a great North American entity reaching from the Canal to the borders of Canada, and, perhaps, through future treaties with England, it may yet stretch northward to the pole.

This is not a dream. The millions of people in the United States require occupation and seek it eagerly, with machines that level mountains, carve out tunnels under hills and waters, and build bridges; they march; they fly; they navigate from one end of the land to the other bearing civilization on the prow of the vessel and light upon the flag that flutters from their masts.

The diplomatic ministers of the United States could aid us in the selection of men for the arduous task of government; but this benign influence should not be exercised except by North Americans of irreproachable

character, having acquaintance with our nationalities, and free from all immoderate or unlawful ambitions—in a word, men of recognized probity of character.

Just because the social conditions of the Central American nations is so difficult, it is not everyone who could serve as an intermediary between those nations and the government of the United States. I believe that it would be less difficult to find a diplomat capable of arranging differences between France and the United States, than, for example, between this country and Nicaragua. In our country various personal cliques are active and hostile; each has its fetich which, as a general rule, is some ignorant, ambitious military man; passions are unbridled and private interests are continually thrown into the balance of public affairs. As truth is not always spoken, and he who utters it is frequently calumniated, the diplomat would be unable to determine the man of high character if he listened only to politicians and party leaders.

Would it not certainly be a calamity to our countries, and even to the United States, if the representatives of the government at Washington should encourage and protect militarism and administrative corruption in Central America, as has sometimes occurred, always, let us hope, by mistake?

Vice and corruption can create nothing good, either for the weak or the stronger people. This is a truth so pervading that there is hardly one of the ruinous jobs of Zelaya's régime, but has had United States, German, English or Italian beneficiaries. The Zelayists, in their

concessions, monopolies, and land and mine-grabbing operations, always availed themselves of the instrumentality of foreigners. Corruption contaminated the bones of both. Inordinate love of wealth is an infirmity and a symptom of death. Rome succumbed amid the splendors of Petronius and the luxuries of Luculus. Anthony forgot his country in the gardens of Cleopatra.

XI.

What is the visible trend of evolution in the present age and what is the rôle of the United States?

The rivers of the earth always seek slopes, basins, vales, gullies or watercourses in which to flow to the sea; and in order that the law of social movement might bear more likeness to the laws of the physical world, humanity also selects seas, rivers, canals, so that it may all the more easily transport itself from one place to another, peopling the earth and contributing to the progress of the race.

From most remote times, the human tide has coursed through seas and rivers best adapted to navigation and the transportation of men and merchandise, or of ammunition for use in the work of conquest. It might be said that facilities of communication have directed the march of the social world.

The Aryans jumped from the plains of Pamir to the Ganges and the Indus, later crossing the Indian sea and the Mediterranean to establish themselves in Greece and Rome; the Hebrews erected their tents on the shores of the Euphrates; and by a singular circumstance, truly felicitous for the study of sociology, the most powerful

nations had their birth and growth on the banks of large rivers and by the shores of the sea.

Egypt on the banks of the Nile, whose periodic inundations suggested great works and monuments; Greece, with its shores bathed by the waters of the Mediterranean; Rome built upon the Tiber; Constantinople on the Bosphorus; Paris, with open navigation on the Seine; London, piercing the gloom of the fog with its life and light, sailing the Thames, welding the iron and extracting the coal from its mines; Germany, floating upon the Rhine; and, in modern times, the United States of America palpitating upon the shores of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Missouri and the Mississippi, and around the great lakes, Erie, Ontario, Huron, Michigan and Superior; while in the southern extremity of the continent, the Argentine country grows, prospers and develops in power, in the reflection of its wonderful River Plate.

But the merest analysis of these singular geographic conditions would show us that no nation of the world enjoys greater facilities of communication, or has received more permanent suggestion from the elements than the United States of America. It is sufficient to glance at the map of this great country, or visit it, in order to realize that the people of the United States find objective instruction everywhere in their surroundings; they beheld the course of the ways of communication, and appreciated the development these would produce according as their utilization was more or less easy. This admirable geographic condition, more than anything else, has created the spirit of North America, has

produced its tendencies, its ideal, its evolution. The arteries, nerves and vessels of this great organism, are its rivers, lakes, seas and railways. Through them it lives and grows and prospers in a manner truly marvellous.

It seems as if nature desired to be prodigal towards this land, placing in its bosom all the materials where-with mankind has always established great civilizations. Nature also favored it with mountains of iron and of coal, that is, with the materials which its mother, England, used to elevate herself to the dignity of a nation, and of which Germany and Japan have availed themselves in order to astonish the world.

The change of front, the march of human society towards federation of the nations, was thus enabled to take place and find its beginning upon the continent of North America, Fulton initiating it with the steamship and Franklin with electricity.

And as alertness of perception and the spirit of international fraternity grow in proportion to the impulses of the human organism, which are the more potential according as the vessels and arteries can easily and rapidly conduct blood to the heart, by railway, steamship or telegraph, spiritual communication was established in North America, bringing in its wake the tendency toward fraternity; and this tendency is the soul that directs and conducts the definitive evolution of the United States. There is not a town in this great country which does not perceive the pulsations of the others and of the world at large, transmitted, as they are, by the telegraph, which may be likened to the nerves of the human body.

The earth itself, the gentle mother earth, adored of the Greeks, forged the links of North American confederation. Man comes and learns; he touches and conceives; he needs and he creates. In the war of secession this truth was demonstrated in the clearest manner.

As at that time this immense facility of communication did not exist, the people of the South were not acquainted with and did not understand the people of the North. The hand of man had not riven the mountains nor drilled the rocks for the construction of highways.

Consequently, North American evolution which, in the end, shall guide the world, is already visible, although it may not be recognized by unenlightened people. And this is one of the reasons, and, indeed, the most cogent one, why we should permit the United States to guide us through the intricate labyrinth, in the same way as the planets are guided by the sun in the center of the system, larger of size and more powerful, with the force of universal gravitation glowing in its fiery breast.

If the highest aspiration of humanity be perfection; and through the operation of exceptional circumstances the people of the United States have discovered the road, as Columbus discovered the New World, the other countries of America must necessarily revolve around the new sun and find warmth in its light, all travelling together towards Fraternity, as if this were, for the social world, what the Constellation of Hercules is for the planetary system.

This is a duty, the performance of which cannot be neglected, because civilization has rights which nations and men must respect. Furthermore, it is a peremptory necessity of existence, because the currents of prosperity

and expansion have developed in the United States in a gigantic manner, and are already irresistible. We cannot do otherwise than prepare our baggage and purchase our ticket for that wonderful voyage over the ocean of history and civilization to the cities of the United States favorably situated on the stream, travelling also in railway trains and steamships, thus contributing with some of our strength to the irresistible, supreme evolution. At any rate, we ought to be an atom of that universal spirit which is developing before our vision, satellites of that great system, docile as the planets, but retaining our centrifugal power that the equilibrium may be sustained and a return to chaos averted. We must all join the ranks and march along to the tune of the grand law.

In this manner the nations of Central America have a clear and safe road, to come within the sphere of the Colossus, while maintaining at the same time their individual independence. May it thus attract us, like the sun by its bulk, but without attempting to deprive us of the right of life, the movement of rotation.

Such mutual obedience to the universal law settles the conflict and saves the independence of Central America.

The giant is also under the unavoidable obligation of lending his strength to his weaker brothers, in accordance with equity and justice, in order to contribute to the creation of new American states, powerful and free, as prophesied by Monroe when he proclaimed his celebrated doctrine; and as it may be assumed Taft and Knox desire with reference to Nicaragua. This work would be imperishable; furthermore, regarding evolution in the United States from this high point of view, such work

would be extremely scientific; indeed, it might be said to be mathematic. It would be magnificent and sublime; not a work of conquest and destruction, but one of fraternity and justice, of creation and transformation. Let the great problem be solved, that problem which Rome perceived but dimly, which ancient and modern nations have been unable to work out, to which international congresses have been devoting their attention, and which is the ardent aspiration of humanity.

Do you desire universal fraternity? If so, do not waste time in assembling congresses, but open up roads; place men and nations in intercommunication; organize a social, like the planetary system. Nature, itself, has given us its lesson in the grand law of life and eternity. By the opening of roads and the removal of obstacles which impede and render human intercourse more difficult, the grand confederation of the nations would come at last; not socialism or anarchy, for nothing exists or can exist in the universe without restraint, law and government.

There is a country in Central America which, geographically considered, greatly resembles the United States; that is Nicaragua. There is another that holds mountains of iron in its bosom, namely, Honduras.

On the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua there are navigable rivers flowing through fertile territory: the Segovia, the Prinzapolka, the Grande, the Escondido with its branches the Rama and the Siquia; the Cukra and the San Juan communicating with the Grand Lake. This, in its turn, is connected with the Lake of Managua, by means of the river Tipitapa; and by the construction of canals and the

building of bars and coves, the entire country could be traversed by steamships and merchandise.

In the vicinity of Bluefields, when its large and spacious harbor is completed like that of Pearl Lake, the work that William Penn did on the Delaware and the other immigrants performed in the various States of the American Union, may be commenced.

At the same time railroads could be laid across the country, starting from Rama or Bluefields from the river Grande or the Segovia, running through most fertile lands suitable for cultivation and cattle raising, having abundant gold in the subsoil and forests of rich timber available for building purposes.

It is a great duty to lend a helping hand to these countries, so that justice may be installed in them, the republic firmly established and immigration made possible. This is not only a moral duty but a necessity for the United States which are filling rapidly with the human stream coming from Europe to the new world in search of life, air and sunshine.

There seems to be no reason whatever why the American Government should disguise its aims and plan of expansion, if they look towards this grand object. The continent has understood this; and as this object is beneficent to mankind, it can meet with no censure even from the old nations of Europe, because in opening the doors of America, they are not opened solely to the people of the North, but to the entire world. We all know that the United States is a sort of sea, receiving the human streams that flow from the other side of the Atlantic, as in remote ages the Aryans swarmed from Asia into Europe. Were

the primitive inhabitants of Lacio, Gaul and other points able to restrain the biologic movement of mankind? They were not; just as it was not possible for Colombia to prevent itself from being severed in twain by the Canal, and it would, likewise, be difficult for Central America to prevent the human waves from pursuing their restless flow and constant transformation. Life has its grand, inexorable laws.

In the new world, the union of races and nations will be effected in pursuance of the evolution now in progress in the United States. The work began there; it is going on even in the Argentine Republic, and it is already seeking new lands and frontiers for expansion and perfection.

CONCLUSIONS.

The following subjects should be discussed and decided in a new congress composed of representatives from the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, viz. :—

I.—The establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration in Washington, Boston or Philadelphia, composed of three judges and three substitute judges, to be elected by the Senate of the United States. The duty of this court shall be to adjust all questions arising between the signatory countries. The judges to be elected must be citizens of the United States. If the United States be a party litigant, the matter should be decided on review by a European court of arbitration upon the application of one or more of the republics interested.

II.—Acknowledgment of the right of the citizens of all and any of the signatory countries to institute suit, either acting by themselves, or through legal or other representatives, in the Permanent Court for any violation of law, despoliation of property or loss of life committed against them or against the community by any of the governments.

III.—Recognition of the principles of the Knox note as obligatory international doctrine, like the Monroe Doctrine, in the following, or somewhat similar terms:

“The United States and the other signatory powers will consider any war between two or more countries of North America, or civil war in any of them, and all attempts at oppression or tyranny committed against the nations or their citizens, as an attack against the commerce and prosperity of North America; and they declare their obligation to remedy the evil, either severally or jointly, hereby guaranteeing the continued maintenance of lawful governments respectful of the property and of the lives of the people, and also the suppression of usurpers claiming through *coups d'état*, violence in elections or other manifest fraud.”

This doctrine, it is understood, is simply a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. If the United States are obliged to regard as an act of hostility committed against them any attempt to oppress any independent state of America, as also any foreign intermeddling in American mat-

ters, they should likewise assume the obligation of requiring the lawful succession of governments respectful of the rights of persons, whether citizens or aliens.

The conduct of the present Government of the United States in the affairs of Nicaragua, with reference to the tyranny of Zelaya, has been just and equitable, and it would further merit the approbation of all of the nations of America, were it to complete the good work by banishing or suppressing any despotism following, or claiming to succeed, Zelaya's.

IV.—The American government shall not recognize as lawful, any concessions, monopolies or onerous contracts granted by any of the signatory governments to North Americans or foreigners, same being violations of the federal laws and of the laws of free commerce.

This principle flows from the preceding one. Justice, like charity, must begin at home. The evil of monopolies and trusts is hurtful to the weak as well as to the powerful nation. It is sufficient to cite the example of the United Fruit Company of Costa Rica and Guatemala with its monopoly of the banana.

Another example, even more evident, is that of the Bluefields Steamship Company, to which Zelaya granted the exclusive right of navigation of the Escondido River and its branches. Both natives and North Americans rose against this Company in a memorable strike, and it was one of the chief causes of the rebellion against Zelaya. The new government of Nicaragua, with the assistance of the Mixed Commission, cancelled the contract; the monopolist company is now combined with

another to continue the business, seriously prejudicing the interests of honorable Americans, among whom it is sufficient to mention the large plantation of the Laguna de Perlas, containing 1,500 *manzanas* and owned by respectable New Yorkers. The owners are compelled to sell their fruit at such price as the two monopolizing companies choose to fix for it. But why cite other examples when the United States Government, itself, is struggling to remedy the evil within its own borders?

V.—The foundation of a North American Pedagogic Institute, supported by all of the countries signing the convention. This Institute to be on United States soil so that the students may have the benefit of the environment.

VI.—The establishment of a similar Institution for women.

VII.—The obligation of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama to establish other similar institutions when the supply of necessary teachers shall have been prepared by the first institution.

VIII.—The foundation of national banks in each of the signatory republics with ten or twenty millions of dollars gold on deposit and a corresponding issue of bank notes, making the monetary standard the same as that of the United States, and under the guarantee and control of the government of this country.

These banks to have charge of the general treasury of their respective countries, that is to say, for the col-

lection of the revenues and the payment of the appropriations, and for the payment of interest upon foreign or internal debts, etc., etc. A representative of the government at Washington, a representative of the government of the country to which the bank pertains and a representative of the holders of outstanding bonds to compose the board of directors.

IX.—The construction of the Pan-North American Railway for account of the United States of America, without any larger belt of land upon either side of the line than may be necessary for the management and use of the trains and other accessories of the enterprise.

X.—The building of branch lines from the Pan-North American trunk line, for account of each of the signatory countries, within their own territories.

XI.—A general police force maintained by all, for vigilance, health, etc.

There is no necessity for adding any more reasons than those already adduced. The object, the tendency, is obvious. Carried into practice, agreements such as these would result in the intimate, spiritual and material progress of all of North America, and in the effective sovereignty of the Central American Republics in case they should not consider it a more beautiful thing, and one of greater benefit to themselves, to enter the great North American federation, towards which those nations are surely tending through forces developed by the marvellous discoveries of modern times.

EPILOGUE.

The preceding pages have hardly been written, when we are apprised by the press of the country that even President Taft, himself, is seeking to mould public opinion in the direction indicated in this paper. In a recent speech* he urged the people to bring all their moral influence to bear upon the Senate to effect the ratification, not only of the international peace treaties, but also of the agreements made with Nicaragua and Honduras. With his usual remarkable clearness, the President sees that the cause of peace upon this hemisphere would be best conserved by the confirmation of those Central American treaties; and he also perceives the duty of the United States, arising from the Monroe Doctrine, to assist the Central America Republics along the path leading to a secure national existence and to republican liberty under pacific, constitutional governments.

The President also emphasized the important point that such assistance to the Central American States should be of an economic character, declaring, as reported in the newspapers, that "if the United States insists upon the Monroe Doctrine, it should also be willing to help the republics, as was done with Santo Domingo, by collecting their revenues for them and applying these revenues to the payment of just obligations."

* At Mountain Lake Park (Md.), Chautauqua, August 7th, 1911.

Furthermore, President Taft, in his message to Congress accompanying the Nicaraguan Treaty, says:

"Better by far is this beneficial and constructive policy in the neighborhood of the Caribbean Sea, the Panama Canal, and the Central American republics, based as it is on the logic of our geographical position, the development of our commerce in the immediate neighborhood of our shores, our moral responsibilities due to a long-standing policy in the region mentioned, than it is with listless indifference to view unconcernedly the whole region in fomentations of turbulence, irresponsibility, contracting debts that by their own exertions they would never be able to discharge, or to be required, as in several instances in the past, to land our armed forces for the protection of American citizens and their interest from violence and for the enforcement of the humane provisions of international law, for the observance of which in the region concerned, this Government, whether rightfully or wrongfully, is held responsible by the world."

This pamphlet has been written with the express object of propagating this particular line of thought among the people of the United States. It is, therefore, a great satisfaction to the writer to find that he is so admirably aided in this effort by such an eminent and reliable statesman as the President of this great Republic, to which the enlightened people of our own communities look with an abiding hope for the future welfare and happiness of Central America.



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